New Age

V 3. No. 5. October 1936.

IL
M211, N34NA
N36.3.5
197947

948
20-2 ①

The New Age

VOL. III OCTOBER 1936 NO. 5

MAHRASHTRA AFTER TILAK

By

S. S. Khanolkar

Renaissance in a particular society is to a great extent attributed to the efforts of great men. They are taken as builders of their times. And what is interesting to study is the impressions they leave behind. In a way their greatness is rightly understood by the manner in which their contributions are reflected upon. And in a country like ours where hero-worship finds its home, such topics require to be deeply studied.

In the first place we take a retrospective view of the forces that have been working in the political field of Maharashtra since 1920. And this will show how far they have helped the province to keep pace with political developments that had been taking place in other parts of the country. Amongst Tilak's followers, whom the public particularly knows are Mr. Kelkar, Dr. Moonje and Mr. Khaparde. During the last fifteen years these are the people who have prominently appeared before the public and claimed to inherit Tilak's school of thought-(minus his aggressiveness and sacrifice for the cause).

In fact Tilak had used some of the above mentioned simply as journalists, and so on. But after him they began to lead Maharashtra in politics. And the harm that has been done to the province by their policies and tactics adopted in the name of Tilak hardly requires any evidence.

The younger generation could have afforded to ignore them. But the fact that we failed to do so is not so much due to their personalities but mainly to their influence over the public that they managed to acquire owing to their connection with Lokamanya. And that made the task difficult. And the well-established and widely circulated paper like "Kesari" was another weapon in the hands of these so called followers who specially, have utilised the paper in suppressing the rising elements in the province.

And the fact that anything expressed through this paper had come to be considered as gospel truth during Tilak time added to the success of Kelkar's anti-congress propaganda.

Very soon they came forward as staunch critics of the congress as well as Gandhiji. And next ten years after 1923, Mahrashtra passed through an intense party struggle between Responsivists and congress followers. For Maharashtra this was a second party

fight in an organised manner after the Gokhale Versus Tilak struggle. Only from 1929 onwards the congress party in Mahrashtra began to gather some strength and it finally captured the whole congress organisation in 1931. From the very beginning, Gandhism received strong opposition from the various political parties in Mahrashtra.

Some of the well-known parties are as following(1) Responsivists and the Hindu-Mahasabha on one side and the communists and trade unionists on the other.

(1) As a matter of fact the Responsivists party can hardly be distinguished from the Hindu Mahasabha in Mahrashtra. But Tilak was never known to have so much of Hinduism as his followers have. As regards the nature of the opposition, Gandhiji was attacked for almost all his activities including even his Harijan movement. In the beginning of the Non-cooperation and C. D. movements Gandhiji was severely criticised for the impracticability of his plans. Above all, his mystic attitude in political field, has been very much disliked by all the political sections including some of his best followers in the province. The strength of this party rested on paper propoganda than on their *organised* action. The pity of the whole thing lies in this that they were harsh in criticising others' plans but had not any exact schemes of their own, which they could have substituted for other's plans and worked out through their organisations. It is because of this that they very soon lost their ground in politics in spite of the fact that they had Tilak's funds and reputation at their back.

The second group to which I have already referred consists of communists like comrades Dange and Joglekar on one side and some prominent leaders of the trade union movement, on the other. Mahrashtra being agriculturally poor, a considerable number of people from its rural areas, forms the labour population of Bombay, Sholapur, Karachi, and other industrial centres. This labour population is entirely under the influence of communists and trade-unionists who are ideologically opposed to both Gandhies as well as Responsivists. It is not in any way enviable for the*Daridranarayan's that they have left this important Mahrashtra labour section quite untouched.

The third group consists of revolutionaries who have played an important part in rousing patriotic feelings of the nation in the 19th century. This too is divided into two sections. One accepts the leadership of Mr. Vinayakrao Savarkar and the other follows Senapati Bapat. Both opposed Gandhiji for his undue emphasis on Ahimsa. But the difference between the two lies in the fact that the first sides with the Hindu-Mahasabha and the other agrees with Gandiji on all points except his fanatic belief in Ahimsa. Both of them have no organised following behind them.

But after Tilak it is Mr. Bapat who has really contributed something and thereby kept up the spirit of aggressiveness and sacrifice alive in the province. And it may be said that if he had not been in Jail for so many years he would not have allowed Gandhism to be as popular as it has become to-day in Mahrashtra.

* Gandhis follower's

197947
சென்னை-600 008
M211,N34ND
N36.35

MATERIALISTIC INTERPRETATION OF CULTURE

By Maxim Gorki

The role of the labour processes, which have converted a two-legged animal into man and created the basic elements of culture, has never been investigated as deeply and thoroughly as it deserves. This is quite natural, for such research would not be in the interests of the exploiters of labour. The latter who use the energy of the masses as a sort of raw material to be turned into money could not, of course, enhance the value of this raw material. Ever since remote antiquity, when mankind was divided into slaves and slave-owners, they have used the vital power of the toiling masses in the same way as we today use the mechanical force of river currents. Primitive man has been depicted by the historian of culture as a philosophizing idealist and Mystic, a creator of Gods, a seeker after the meaning of life." Primitive man has been saddled with the mentality of a Jacob Bohme, a cobbler who lived at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century and who occupied himself between whiles with philosophy of a kind extremely popular among bourgeois mystics. Bohme preached that "Man should meditate on the skies, on the stars and the elements, and on the creatures which do proceed from them, and likewise on the Holy Angels, the Devil, Heaven and Hell."

You know that the material for the history of primitive culture was furnished by archaelogical data and by the reflections of ancient religious cults, while the elucidation and study of these survivals, have been carried on under the influence of Christian philosophical dogma, to which even atheist historians have been no strangers. This influence may be clearly traced in Spencer's theory of super-organic evolution, and not in his works alone, but also in those of Frazer and many others. But no historian of primitive and ancient culture has used the material folklore, the un-written compositions of the people, the testimony of mythology, which, taken as a whole, is a reflection in broad artistic generalization of the phenomena of nature, of the struggle with nature and of social life. It is hard to concieve of a two legged animal who spent all his strength in the struggle for existence, thinking in abstraction from the processes of labour, from questions of clan and tribe. It is difficult to concieve an Immanual Kant, barefoot and clothed in animal's skins, cogitating on the "thing-in itself." Abstract thought was indulged in by man at a later period, by that solitary man of whom Aristotle in his 'politics' said: "Man outside society is either a God or a beast." Being a beast, he sometimes compelled recognition as God, but as a beast he served as the material for the creation of numerous myths about beast-like men, just as the first man who learned to ride on a horseback furnished the basis for certain myth.

The historians have completely waived the clear evidence of materialist thought, to which the process of labour and the sum total of the phenomena in the social life of ancient man inevitably gave rise. These evidences have come down to us in the shape of fables and myths in which we hear the echo of work done in the taming of animals, in the discovery of healing

herbs, in the invention of implements of labor. Even in remote antiquity men dreamed of being able to fly in the air, as seen from the legend about the Phaethon, about Daedaeus, and his son Icarus, and also from the fable of the magic-Carpet. Men dreamed of speedier movement over the earth—hence the fable of the "seven-league boots." They learned to ride the horse. The desires to navigate rivers faster than the current led to the invention of the oar and the sail. The striving to kill enemy and beast from a distance prompted the invention of the sting, of the bow and arrow. Men conceived the possibility of spinning and weaving a vast amount of fabric in one night, of building overnight a good dwelling, even a "castle", i.e., a dwelling fortified against the enemy. They created the spinning wheel, one of the most ancient instruments of labour; they created the primitive handloom, and also the legend of Vassilisa the wise.

It would be possible to produce many more proofs to show that all these ancient tales and myths contained a purpose, to show how far—sighted were the fanciful, hypothetical, but already technological, thoughts of primitive man, which could raise to such hypotheses of our own day as that of using the force of earths revolution around its own axis, or of breaking up the polar ice. All the myths and legends of ancient times find their consummation, as it were, in the tantalus myth. Tantalus stands up to him neck in water, he is racked by thirst, but unable to allay it—there you have ancient man amid the phenomena of the outer world, which he has not yet learnt to know.

I do not doubt that you are familiar with the ancient legends, tales and myths, but I should like their fundamental meaning to be more deeply comprehended. And their yearning is the aspiration of the ancient working people to lighten their toil, increase its productiveness, to arm against four-footed and two-footed foes, and also by the power of words, by the device of "exorcism', and incantation," to give an influence over the elemental phemomena of nature, which are hostile to men. The last-named is particularly important as it betokens how deeply men believed in the power of the world, and this belief is account for by the obvious and very real service of speech in organising the social relations and labour process of men. "Incantations", were even used to influence the gods. This is quite natural, as all the ancient gods lived on earth, bore human shape and behaved like men, they were benevolent to the humble, hostile to the recalcitrant; like men, they were envious, vengeful, ambitious. The fact that man created god in his own image goes to prove that religious thought had its origin not in the contemplation of nature, but in social strife. We are quite justified in believing that the raw material for the fabrication of gods was furnished by "illustrious men" of ancient Days. Thus, hercules, the "hero of labour", the "master of all trades", was ultimately exalted to the seat of the gods, Olympus.

God, in the conception of primitive man, was not an abstract concept, a fantastic being, but a real personage, armed with some implement of labour, master of some trade, a teacher and fellow worker of men. God was the artistic generalization of the achievements of labour, and the "religious" thought of the toiling masses should be placed in quotation marks since it represented a purely artistic creativeness. In idealizing the abilities of men, and having, as it were, a premonition of their mighty future development, mythology was, fundamentally speaking realistic. Beneath each flight of ancient fancy it is easy to discover the hidden motive, and this motive is always the striving of men to lighten their labour. It is obvious that this striving originated among men who had to perform physical labour. And it is obvious, too, that God would not have made his appearance and would not have continued so long

in the daily lives of men of toil, had he not been so doubly useful to the lords of the earth, the exploiters of labour. The reason why God is so quickly and easily falling into disuse in our country is just because the reason for, his existance has disappeared—the need to vindicate the power of man over man, for man should be only a fellow-worker, friend, companion, teacher to his fellowmen, not the master over his mind and will.

But the more powerful and masterful the slave owner grew, the higher in the heavens did the Gods rise and among the masses there appeared a desire to combat God, personified in the image of Prometheus the Esthonion Kalevi and other heroes, who saw God as a hostile lord of—lords.

Pre-christian pagan folklore has not preserved any clearly expressed indication of the existence of thoughts on "fundamentals", on "first causes", on the "thing in itself". In general it has left no signs of that way of thinking which was organised into a system in the fourth century before our era by the "prophet of Attica", Plato, the founder of philosophy of abstract aloofness from the processes of labour, from the conditions and phenomena of life. It is well known that the church recognised Plato as a forerunner of christianty. It is well known that the church, from its inception, stubbornly fought against the "survivals of paganism"—survivals which are reflection of the materialist outlook of labour. It is well known that as soon as the feudal lords began to feel the strength of the bourgeoisie, there arose the idealist philosophy of Bishop Berkley, the reactionary nature of which was exposed by lenin in his militant book against idealism.

It is well known that on the eve of the French revolution, at the end of the 18th century, the bourgeoisie availed itself of the materialist idea in order to fight feudalism and its inspirer—religion, but that, having conquered its class for, and in fear of its new enemy the Proletariat, it immediately reverted to the idealist doctrine and sought the protection of the church. During the course of the 19th century, the bourgeoisie, feeling with varying degrees of alarm how iniquitous and precarious was its power over the masses of the toiling people, tried to vindicate its existence by the Philosophy of its criticism, positivism, rationalism, pragmatism, and other attempts to distort the purely materialist thought emanating from the processes of labour. These attempts revealed, one by one, their powerlessness to "explain" the world, and in the 20th century, we find that the reputed leader of philosophical thought is the idealist Bergson; whose teaching, by the way, is "favourable to the catholic religion." Here you have a definite admission of the need for regression. Add to this the present wailings of the bourgeoisie concerning the disastrous portent of the irresistable growth of technique, which has created fantastic riches for the capitalists, and you will obtain a pretty clear idea of the degree of intellectual pauperism to which the bourgeoisie has fallen, and of the necessity of destroying it as a historical relic which, in decay, is contaminating the world with the cadaveric poison of its decomposition. The cause of intellectual impoverishment is always to be found in a refusal to recognise the basic meaning of real phenomena, in an escape from life through fear of it, or through an egotistical craving for quiet, through social indifference created by the sordid and loth some anarchism of the capitalist state.

THIS PALESTINE BUSINESS

The strike that has just been called off in Palestine, has been one of the most long drawn out strikes, having begun in April of this year. It has been accompanied by the most ruthless terror, probably only second to that of the French in Damascus. The Arab people have put up a heroic fight against Imperialism, and have at last been compelled to give up their resistence under conditions with which we are not yet completely acquainted, but still knowing as we do in this country the familiar methods of commissions which ultimately bring nothing, we can only guage what is in store for the Arab people in Palestine. For the present at any rate they have succumbed to the influences of Arab princes outside Palestine, through whose generous offices British Imperialism has warded off its immediate calamity, and the Arab people have lost one of their splendid opportunities of wresting from Britain, their demands.

People in this country are not familiar with this Palestine question. We have been hearing of course that this has been a communal problem, a fight against the Jewish Immigration in Palestine, which was the result of the policy laid down according to what is known as the Balfour Declaration of 1917. The Arabs who were induced to desert the Turks during the war with promises of freedom, were immediately, after the conclusion of the war, faced with this historic declaration which was issued on the second of December, 1917. This declaration which was the beginning of the present conflict between the Jews and the Mandatory Power—Britain on one side, and the Arab people on the other, reads as follows. "His Majesty's Government view with favour, the establishment in Palestine, of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the existing civil and religious rights of the Non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the jews in any other country." Besides the obligation mentioned in this declaration towards the people of Palestine, the conferring of the Palestine mandate to Britain, while confirming this declaration, laid another obligation on the mandatory power, namely the development of self-Governing institutions. The way in which the obligations and promises have been carried out in practice, will be made clear in the course of this article.

The British Government took up the mandate of Palestine in order to liberate Palestine and confer upon it all the modern amenities. In fact the day on which Palestine was brought within the British Empire, and on which Allenby marched into Jerusalem was observed as the "Liberation" day by the Arab population.

Since the famous Balfour declaration, Jewish immigration has been proceeding most rapidly, and in fact it has come to mean the virtual occupation of all the fertile tracts of land by the immigrant Jews. This meant the forcible displacement of the wretched Fellah who, inspite of his extreme poverty and wretchedness, was living in a small clay hut with his wooden plough and his pair of oxen and his donkey. Since the Jews were willing to pay fancy prices to the Effendis,—the Zamindars and landlords of Palestine, the peasants were literally thrown into the streets in the course of this

"civilising" process. For it has been claimed on behalf of the Jews that they have achieved a veritable miracle in the field of agriculture, industry and commerce and other departments of effort related to the modernisation of a most backward country, They have drained marshes, built colonies, created cities. . . . . harness the Jordan river. . . and in general have transformed Palestine into a land habitable by westerners seeking comforts of modern life.

This "civilising" process, with which we are becoming familiar in modern days, has been almost a necessity for Imperialist countries to provide a useful outlet for the export of Capital.In connection with Palestine it must be remembered that while the Jews brought men and Capital into Palestine, Britain was also interested in this development of Palestine for two reasons; Firstly, this provided a useful field for the export of British Capital and Industrial goods. According to the financial times "The prudential Insurance, Company is interested in the investment there to the extent of over £1,000,000 and Palestine imports from England according to the Midland Bank Review, for November, December 1935 amounted to £ P. 3,000,000. Secondly, the Juxta-position of the two peoples in Palestine will make the British indispensable and therefore will enable Britain to continue its control of Palestine and thereby the route to the East.

Nobody denies that Palestine has, during these sixteen years, developed from a most primitive country into a flourishing community with growing standards of life, good communications, modern methods of agriculture, growing industries and improved sanitary conditions. But in this process most of the Arab peasantry has been impoverished, and most of them are being turned out of their land and are being converted into landless proletariat, and their holdings are gradually being reduced to the extent of being useless for maintaining the peasant and his family.Only a few Effendisare profited by this immigration of the Jews, to whom they have sold land at exhorbitant prices. The whole of the Arab population is being supplanted and if this rate of immigration is allowed, there is danger of the Jews outnumbering the Arab peoples. At the present time the Arabs are already being dominated by the Jews, who control the country's industires and share with the British the control of finance. Numerically too, the Arabs are afraid of being dominated in the near future, by the Jews at the present rate of immigration, the strength of the two communities being roughly estimated at 900000, of Arabs to 375,000 Jews, the total Jewish immigration during the last three years (1933-35) being about 150,000. The Jews at present own 300,000 acres of cultivable land of a total of 3,000,000 acres according to official estimates. And the area owned by the Jews consists for the most part of plain land and is some of the most fertile in the country.

Under these conditions of gradual supplanting, it is no wonder that the Arabs are struggling to maintain their homes from foreigners and also fighting against worsened conditions that necessarily follow such modern methods.

The most amazing thing about this policy of economic conquest of Palestine by Zionism, is that it is openly assisted by the Jewish Labour Federation, the Histadruth, which has become a sort of colonising agency for the Jews. It is also the exclusive organisation of Jewish workers, others being rigorously kept out of this "Federation of Labour". Its declared aim, besides being a colonising agency, is "to build up a Jewish Workers "Community" and is trying deliberately to split the working class. Still, under the left criticism of this communal policy, the Histadruth has been compelled to make an "alliance" with the Arab Workers. In practice this alliance hardly works as

this Labour organisation does not represent the wage earners.

According to Drummond Shiels, one time Colonial Secretary, the Arabs had never accpeted the British Mandate. The occupation of Palestine has the familiar odour of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. When the immigration started the Arabs began to get restive. The waited-for development of self governing institutions was thrown to the winds and instead the real conquest of Palestine had begun. This culminated in the first of the uprisings in the Pogroms against the Jews in 1920.

And in practice the Arabs found that they were being impoverished while the country was apparently improving as a colony for the new Jewish settlers. A sort of constitution was granted but was rejected by the Arab people in 1922. At the present moment all the responsible positions are held by the Britishers and this also has been responsible in a great measure for the bitter Anti-British feelings amongst the Nationalist Arabs. Some sort of representative Government was introduced last year with a Legislative Conucil composed on a communal basis 5 officials, 11 nominated non-official members (3 Moslems, 4 Jews, 2 Christians, and 2 representing "Commercial" interests) and 12 elected members (8 Moslems, 3 Jews and one Christian). The Christians would presumably be Arab Christians. If the relative weights of the British and Zionist elements and of the Arab element are compared it is clear that the British and pro-British forces (5 officials. 7 Jews and 2 Commercial) would with the casting vote of the senior official member be, stronger than the forces representing Arab interests (11 Moslems and 3 Arab Christians). Besides this fact, the legislature is entirely powerless as the control of finance, and immigration are outside the scope of this council. The High Commissioner is also empowered with Supreme autocratic powers to enact emergency legislation, and even go to the extent of postponing election for twelve months after the council's dissolution. This sort of Constitution is a very familiar idea to us in this country, where emergency legislation has become a permanent feature of British Imperialism. It is no wonder therefore that the Arabs, who in the beginning of the Mandate period thought that only Zionism was its enemy, have come to regard that the Mandatory, which shows no sign of relaxing the control over their country, is probably the greater enemy.

From the demands of the Arab Nationalists, it is very clear that they attach the greatest importance to the Zionist problem. Because in the order of their demands, the struggle against Imperialism, till the present strike, occupied only a secondary place. Their demands were mainly three Viz: (1)The immediate stoppage of immigration (2) the introduction to prevent further sale of land to the Jews and (3) the setting up of a responsible Government in accordance with the terms of the mandate given to Britain by the League of Nation.

The British Government viewed this struggle with considerable foresight as is seen in the statement of Sir Ormsby Gore, who said that the Arab struggle was also essentially Anti-Government. The same view was held by the Mayor of Jerusalem who, when referring to the disurbances, said that "the recent disturbances have been against the Government...a demonstration against law and order. They claim full National right to Independence and liberty in a union with other Arab countries." The Nationalists held that the collaboration of the Arabs with the British Government was impossible and that the "Pro-Jewish Policy of the Mandatory is but a screen for oppressing Imperialism, and an excuse for withholding from the people of Palestine their elementary right of Independence."

There can be no doubt therefore that the Arabs have been struggling

to be free from Imperialist domination, as much perhaps as they have been fighting against their being displaced and supplanted by the Jewish people. Owing to the frequent outbreaks which mainly took the form of Anti-Jewish on-slaught, there has been some sort of check on the sale of land to the Jews because of the fact that the Arab landlords who sell their lands to the Jews are also in danger of being attacked by the peasants. This has resulted in the tricks played by the Arab land-owners who put up a dummy purchaser from the neighbouring district who in his turn transfers the land to the Jews taking his commission. The existence of these intermediaries has also been a source of evil to the Arab people, and has further helped the increased sale of land and pauperisation of the peasantry.

The Arab fight during all these years was mainly concentrated against the Jews who also have served as a screen for the British Policy in the East. Immediately on the occupation of Palestine by Britain, the money necessary for the development of Palestine had to be found and hence it was that this plan of making it a home for the "Homeless" Jews, was taken up. While helping in the development of Palestine on modern lines, this policy has helped Britain to maintain its strategic interest in the Near East and also to frustrate the Arab desire for Independence. In the risings in Paletine during the Years 1920-1921, 1929 and 1933, the Arab people have been trying through negotiations to get their natural right to Independence, culminating in the most serious fighting during the last six months.

When this strike started the Arabs put up their three demands but the main condition for the calling off of the strike was the satisfaction in regard to the question of Immigration. The Arabs were then prepared to negotiate for the other demands. The present movement which started with the attacks by Arabs on Jews and the attacks by the police on the Arabs in Jaffa on the 19th of April was followed by the closing of Shops in Jaffa on the following day. By the 23rd April, the strike had spread to almost all the important towns. Strike Committees voluntarily were set up by the people which compelled the leadership of the Arab Nationalists to set up the Higher Strike committee to Co-ordinate the activities of these lower committees. Each of the local strike committees was appointed by the people of the towns with the specific aims of maintaining the strike and to give relief to the strikers. Following the repressive action taken by the police and the Military the strike became widespread and it only helped in strengthening the strike movement. The action of the villagers who while they attacked the property of the jews also attacked railways and other Government communications. In some villages the strikers obtained arms and left their villages to fight the Goverment forces. The course adopted by the Government in suppressing the revolt need not be repeated as we, in India, are familiar with Military marches, searches, detentions without trial and the accompanying evils in much less serious circumstances. In fact the strike proceeded in a way which the reformist leaders of the strike never expected, much less wanted. They wished to give the movement a harmless character. But under the lead from the political group led by Sheik El Kassam, a clear political lead was given to the movement.

The strike has been called off after the heroic fight put up by the oppressed Arab masses without much having been gained. The reformist leadership has succeeded in hoodwinking the Arab masses under the slogan of unity of all Arab peoples. They have been made to yield to the appeals of the neighbouring Arab Kings who have much to gain by an alliance with British Imperialism and who have played as pawns in the

game of British Imperialism in maintaining its key position in the East. During the course of the strike fine heroism on the part of the masses of Arab and Jewish workers was displayed. The unity of these oppressed people had already alarmed the leadership and hence the slogan of "Independence of all the Arab peoples" which was only a sop to the fighting Arabs. The movement of the oppressed masses of Arabs in alliance with their Jewish Comrades was threatening to spread to the neighbouring countries and hence all the "Kings" of the Arabs made frantic efforts to put an end to the strike movement which in essence was a movement for Independence of the Arabs. The Arabs have got a Royal Commission, but the struggle for Independence has yet to go on.

SUNRISE

A lotus bathed in dews
Awakes as day draws
Diffusing sweet odour new
Casting pearls of dew.

The maiden called River
Laden with sweet flower
In her wild and mild career
Brings offering to Sun, the giver.

Piping notes, the birds every one
Invite the shining Sun
While, the honey-hunting bee
Kisses the lotus in glee.

By P. C. Jayavelu.

Birds of the same feather flock together!

A man is known by the company he keeps!

These two proverbs are very common, but many do not realise the full value of these golden sayings. If you want to join the army of people who encourage their own countries' manufactures and do justice to the above proverbs, then you should not fail to visit, the big exhibition of Swadeshi Goods at

The General Swadeshis Limited,

ESPLANADE : : MADRAS.

JAPANESE INTRIGUES IN OUTER MONGOLIA

"The Japanese State requires a vast and sparsely populated territory rich in natural wealth. But in what direction can the Japanese state extend? Towards the northern and western parts of the Asiatic continent." Thus writes a Japanese Professor, of the military-fascist regime.

The conquest of Inner Mangolia, and the provocative actions of Japan on the frontiers of outer mongolia prove that militarist Japan is frantically trying to translate this desire into realization. This is not the beginning of Japan's policy of annexation and expansion towards the West.

Japan has been planning for long time the annexation of outer Mongolia and actually went to the length of setting up a puppet state in 1918. During the years of the civil war and the wars of Imperialist Intervention in Soviet Russia, from 1918 onwards, Japan was cherishing the idea of creating a state which would include trans-Baikal the Soviet far east, the whole of Mongolia, and Munchuria. This "Mongolian State" was to cut off the U. S. S. R. from the Pacific ocean and form the foundation of Japanese rule over the whole continent of Asia.

The campaign for the creation of this "Mongolian State" under Japanese Portection, was begun in the middle of 1918. A "pure-bred Mongolian" was found in Semyonov, a white Guardist General. This white-guardist was transformed into "prince" Semyonov, organiser of the "Great Mongolian State". All that was Mongolian about this "Mongolian Prince" was that at one time he had served on the Staff of the Tsarist consul at Urga.

This "Prince" set about his task in princely fashion. On February 25,1919, the "Pan-Mongolian Congress" was convened in Chita. This "Congress" has already become a historical anecdote. Its object was to found the Mongolian State, but the comedy of it all was that there was not one Mongolian delegate at the Conference. The fifteen "delegates to the Congress" were from the commanders of Semynov's divisions, Semyonov, his assistants, white guardists and Japanese officers.

This "Mongolian congress" proclaimed the foundation of the "Independent Mongolian State". The comedy reached its climax, when the capital of this state was fixed at Dauria-on the Trans-Baikalian Railway, where Semyonov was camping. The congress further considered the economic possibilities offered by Japan to the newly created State. The Japanese were immensely satisfied with this farce and actually attempted to get this puppet state recognized at the Peace Congress at Versailles.

And 'Prince' Semyonov, with the funds provided by Japanese Imperialism, went about his business in right earnest. He formed a foreign division and attempted a march on Urga, in order to force outer Mongolia to submission to Japanese Imperialism. But, unfortunately for Japan, at this juncture, the counter-revolutionary Kolchak was defeated by the Red Army, compelling Semyonov to withdraw to quieter territory under Japanese protection. Thus the march started and ended with Semyonov's camp at Dauria. Japan's attempt at recognition for this

puppet state at Varsailles ended in failure.

Ever since then, Japan has been making frantic efforts to seize outer Mongolia. In 1921, they found new allies in Baron Ungeru and the Ataman Annenkov. When the white-Guardist counter-revolutionay forces were defeated by the Red Army, they fled to the east, and one section arrived in Mongolia. The troops under the Ataman Annenkov concentrated in the west of outer mongolia and Wngeru remained in the eastern frontier districts. The Japanese sent advisers to Baron Ungeru from the Japanese General Staff, and on their suggestion, the Baron again took up the idea of the "Great Mongolian State".

Then began a bloody warfare and the massacre of the civil population. On Jan 6, 1921, the troops under Baron Ungeru raided the town of Urga and butchered the population. Annedov took Kobdov and the whole of outer Mongolia came into the hands of the counter-revolutionary white Guardists. Baron Ungeru issued a proclamation, in which he referred to the restoration of the Manchu Dynasty, and we know how such restoration was carried out in Manchuria by Japan.

The Soviet Government, in its appeal to the Mongolian people in July 1919, recognised the right of the Mongolian people to determine their own form of Government.

"Japan"—according to this appeal "does not permit the representatives of the workers and peasants Government to carry the Moscow message to Urga. Now the victorious Red Army brings this message. Once more, the Soviet Government solemnly declares Mongolia is a free country and all power must be in the hands of the Mongolian people."

The success of the October Revolution in Russia, was the signal for the rapid growth of national movements in the east and "the Mongolian National Revolutionary Party" was formed towards the end of 1919. Its foremost aim was the complete liberation of Mongolia from political and economic oppression by foreign powers, and the establishment of a state in which all power would be vested in the people.

The brutal atrocities committed by the white Guards under Baron Ungeru, their innumerable shootings and executions, inflamed the population of outer Mongolia against the white guardists. This helped the spreading of the phenomenal influence and prestige of the National Revolutionary Party over wider and wider strata of the population. In February 1921, the first Party conference resolved, shortly after the occupation of Urga by the bandits under Baron Ungeru, to send its force against the Baron and the Mongolian Partisan troops that were being formed at that time.

The white guardists were routed and in March 1921, the first provincial National Revolutionary Government of outer Mongolia was formed and the armed struggle against the white Guardists was taken up in right earnest.

Alarmed at this, Ungeru, moved with his white Guardist band, towards the Trans-Baikal—in the direction of the Railway Station Mysovakya with a view to destroy the numerous railway tunnels on the bank of the Baikalia lake, so that Russia might be isolated from the Far east.

The Provincial Government appealed to the soviet for help and their appeal to the Soviet Government for help was immediately responded to. And the combined forces of the Soviet Red Army and the troops of the Mongolian Revolutionary Government, routed Ungeru and his forces. On June 6, 1921, Urga was captured and on June 22 Ungeru was arrested and sentenced to death.

In the following two years, the National Revolutionary Government, succeeded in uniting the whole territory of the outer Mongolia, on Novem-

ber 26, 1924, the All-Mongolian Congress of workers declared in favour of a Peoples' Republic.

Even after this utter defeat of its plans, Japanese Imperialism has not abandoned its ambitions. She has been attempting to get into close touch with the Counter-Revolutionary forces, and with their assistance to overthrow the National Government. She has been engineering innumerable conspiracies against the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Tanaka Memorandum of 1927, containing a detailed plan for the conquest of Mongolia is a proof of this Japanese policy of aggression. Japanese Fascism is even inventing new Racial Theories to create sympathy of the home population for her predatory designs. The Mongolian government is not unaware of these threatened dangers. "The danger of an attack on our independent country by Japan is a very real one" declared the Prime Minister of the Mongolian People's Republic." We must be ready to resist. Japan has advanced close to our Eastern frontiers. She is arming for war against the Mongolian people's Republic and the Soviet Union, hoping to destroy our Independence and to convert our country into a colony after the pattern of Manchuria and Inner Mangolia."

If Japan once again attempts to carry out her plans, she will suffer the same fate that fell to her lot in 1918 and 1924.

HEALTHY LIFE

IS WITHIN YOUR REACH

Your illness pervades your home and makes it unattractive. It is highly essential that a woman should guard herself against ill-health. LODHRA readily comes to her relief. It puts down all women's ailments and fills their lives with the **JOY OF RADIANT HEALTH.**

AT ALL CHEMISTS

THE SPANISH IMBROGLIO

CHURCH AGAINST REPUBLIC.

The silence of the American press on the part the catholic Church has played in the Spanish rebellion, constitutes an important, omission in the understanding of the atrocity stories involving nuns, monks, priests and churches that have been widely printed in that country since the revolt began. No one would deny that members of Catholic orders and clergy have been killed and that churches have been sacked and burned. What can be most emphatically denied, however, is that the Catholic clergy have been killed as innocent bystanders and that the churches were sacked and burned simply because the people had a fiendish desire to see a good fire.

In a very real sense the Catholic priesthood has had its hand in the plotting of the revolt and, once the revolt started, the clergy became virtual combatants, even though they may not have carried rifles or operated machine guns. As plotters they were entitled to little more consideration than a soldier committing treason, and for taking an active part in the ensuing combat they could no more expect immunity from attack than could any other rebels.

I happened to be in Granada when the revolt started and for a month I was stranded there with some twenty-five other Americans, unable to move out of the city. We witnessed the rebels take over the city, heard and saw the hand-to-hand street fighting that followed, looked on from the heights of the Alhambra while the workingmen's district was bombed and shelled and, in general, were able to pick up many specific details of the terror that has since gripped the city. When we were finally flown out of Granada (in a German Junkers plane operated by the rebels), Granada was still in the hands of the rebebls, albeit it was a beleaguered city, surrounded on all sides by enemy territory. But should Granada fall into the hands of the government forces, I should be very much surprised if the new conquerors would be so stupid as to show much tenderness toward the Catholic clergy there or manifest much respect for their homes and churches.

Decades of gre·d and corruption have left the clergy and the Church little enough honour, anyway, but by plotting, aiding and abetting what has become one of the greatest slaughters of a civilian population in the world's history, the Church has surely forfeited all claim to mercy. It has proved itself, during this rebellion as never before, quite incapable of reform. It can now hope to exist in Spain only arm-in-arm with a military dictatorship of the greatest severity and it will have to be liquidated when that dictatorship is overthrown.

The clergy's participation in the revolt in Granada could be seen with the naked eye and there is no reason to believe that the situation was other wise eslewhere in Spain. I know because I saw them, that in Granada's church towers and steeples, machine guns were placed and that they were used against a civilian population resisting an armed revolt against an elected government. I know again because I saw it with my own eyes that the churches of Granada were used as barracks for the fascist organisations and the rebel militia and I know that in at least one church in Granada-the church of San Geronimo considerable ammunition was stored. In the towers of the Cathedral of Granada there were two machine guns pointing out on the adjoining square. From the heights of

the Alhambra we could see armed men firing from the towers of various churches. In the rectory of the little church just back of the incomplete Charles V Palace on the Alhambra Hill artillery men were lodged and fed. And of all the shocking sights I saw in the Spanish civil war none could compare with the spectacle of the priest of this little church joking, talking and smoking with soldiers who at that moment were engaged in firing cannon from the Alhambra Hill down into the working-class district.

Instead of constituting a sanctuary the churches have become armed fortresses. If, in the course of events, the fascist-military revolt fails and the duly elected government again gains control, it will be only natural that these fortresses will be attacked.

The professional weeping over the damage done to the national monuments of Spain—which are mostly churches—amount at times to a hysterical scream. The Spanish military authorities are good at it, but many of our American and English newspapermen are positively brilliant. They break down at the erroneous news that a rose window in the Seville Cathedral has been shattered by flying shrapnel. They collapse in grief when the military announce, again falsely that the Mesquita at Cordoba has been shelled. They put on deep mourning when that chatterbox of a general, Queido De Llano, declares in his virtually continuous radio talks from Seville that the Alhambra at Granada has been half destroyed by "Red" bombers. When Queipo made that announcement we were sitting only about 100 feet from the Alhambra. It was then 10 o'clock in the evening and we had lelft the Alhambra quite intact at 6-30. Queipo, the only radio-news source the Andalusians have, had been grossly inaccurate before and we were not unduly concerned. What had happened that afternoon was that the Hotel Washington Irving, on the Alhambra Hill, had been struck by a bomb. The hotel, owned and operated by the secretary of the Hispano-America Bank of Granada who was, incidentally, the chief financial backer of the coup there, happened to be the un-official fascist headquarters of the city. Three of the chief fascist families of the city had moved up there to escape the bombing of the city below. Ironically enough, the deaths from that afternoon's bombs were confined to those three families.

After the Asturian revolt in Oct. 1934, one of the more prominent English journalists went through Oviedo counting the altars missing from even the more insignificant churches, but neglecting almost completely the massacre of the civilian population by the Foreign Legion. The correspondents during this later revolution seem to have been far more interested in the dislodging of a cathedral stone than in the shelling of a district like the Albayzin, in Granada, or the almost complete destruction, with great loss of life, of Triana-the working-class town across the Guadalquivir from Seville.

They will print long stories of the Red terror instituted by the leftist committees in Malaga without bothering too much about the daily volleys of the execution squad that can be heard in any fascist-controlled city. And if proof be needed of the disinterestedness of the majority of our correspondents in the white terror that now grips fascist Spain, I could cite Badajoz. Dozens of the foreign correspondents went to see the taking of this fortress near the Portuguese border by the rebel troops. One of the English correspondents claimed (in his dispatch) that he had made the trip from north to south in Spain under fire, when as a matter of fact he had motored leisurely through safe and neighborly Portugal. The correspondents who visited Badajoz had nothing but praise for the ability of Franco's soldiers in capturing this seemingly impregnable fort.

It was nine days later that Jay Allen, of the Chicago Tribune, went to Badajoz unescorted by the military and came out with almost indescribable details of the mass murders that have taken place since the military occupation in the Plaza de Toros of that city. I know Allen; I started with him from Gibraltar on his trip to Badajoz, but was unable to finish the journey. And I know him as one of the few reporters who understand Spain; he has lived there and worked there for a long time and who is at the same time competent, impartial and conscientious. But even if I had not known his work, I would still believe his account in full if for no other reason than that I had been able to confirm in Granada something of the same type of massacres he describes in Badajoz.

In Granada the condemned were taken every morning and every evening alive to the cemetery and there apparently shot down in front of the pits dug for them during the day. We naturally could not witness the actual executions, but the evidence that there were executions was conclusive. The trucks carrying soldiers and civilians went past our hotel on the way to the cemetry every morning and every night. Without fail we would hear the volley of shots a few minutes after the trucks went up and always, a few minutes later, the trucks would come back down, this time without the civilians. Some days we counted as many as seventy civilians who made this trip, on others there were as few as twenty-five. The more bombs that had been dropped on Granada the more prisoners would go up the hill the next day. The Military were quite frank in admitting in their newspaper and over the radio that for every bomb dropped five prisoners—generally members of the Popular Front—would be executed as a reprisal.

In the face of such terror it is difficult for the Spaniard to be very apprehensive over the fate of his country's national monuments. The Alhambra for example, is a precious monument, unique and irreplaceable, but even it can scarcely be so precious as a decent, healthy, literate and free Spain. But should the Alhambra be damaged in the course of the civil war the fault must lie with the rebels, who from the beginning of hostilities have fortified it. Within seventy-five or a hundred feet of the entrance to the Moorish palace they have placed cannon. Soldiers carrying rifles have been allowed to tramp freely through the Alhambra, using the towers as vantage points from which to snipe at the resisting population below. After the one bombing of the Alhambra Hill a group of Granada's prominent citizens published a protest against what might have been the destruction of the monument. They would have been better advised to protest against the original arming of the monument.

Although the Vatican has been relaying to the world press almost daily atrocity stories of crimes committed against its holy orders in "Red" Spain, it is significant that we have heard nothing of any attempt to constrain its partisans in "White" Spain from continuing the carnage. On the contrary, the clergy has been active in appealing for every kind of aid—from money to enlistments, to help along the "holy war to save Spain from the Marxist hordes." The archbishop at Granada has blessed companies of the Civil Guard being sent out to "pacify" rebellious villages and the cardinal at Seville has put his stamp of approval on the revolt by presiding at a mass in the Seville Cathedral at which in the presence of General Franco and talkative Queipo, the old monarchist flag was restored.

It is the unconfirmed belief of most men in Spain that the Church has largely financed the rebellion, albeit Juan March and the Italians have received most of the credit. Fabulously rich as he is, not even March could

quite operate a war which seems to have a hundred different fronts. And as for the Italians, their help has probably been not so much one of money as of materials. It is noteworthy that many of the monasteries and nunneries that have been pillaged have yielded rich supplies of bank notes.

It is difficult to see how the war could have been carried on without some financial aid from the Church. Inroads had been made into the Church's wealth since February 6, but it remained very rich. The problem of financing the revolt is not only one of buying supplies from outside the country. Inside Spain itself there has been an everlasting cry for more pesetas to pay the soldiers. To supply this need public subscription booths have been opened in every city, town and village held by the rebels.

The intimations, heard in various Catholic pulpits of New York lately, that the Church in Spain has been forced into company with the rebels because of the inhuman treatment by the Popular Front Government, is the purest nonsense. The Church in Spain has ever been flagrantly political. Since the fall of monarchy it has been violently anti-republican and when restoration of the king seemed distant it turned fascist. It is common knowledge in Spain, for example, that the outlawed Falange Espanola, which constituted the background of the revolt in so many cities, kept its membership intact and held its secret meetings in church properties until its final emergence into the open on July 18.

The Church has owned railroads, banks and mines as well as land and treasures. Probably it has been the largest single employer in Spain, and when workers have reflected on the smallness of their wages they have easily made conclusions no flattering to the clergy. The result has been that, except in a few isolated provinces like Navarre, a church-going laborer is a rarity. I doubt, in fact, if there is any country in Europe, except Russia, in which to few people go to church. I have been, for instance, to high and low mass in Seville Cathedral many times and I have rarely seen more than twentyfive or thirty worshippers there at a time. Barely fifty civilians attended a special Thanksgiving mass in Granada's cathedral just after the revolt. I have never seen anyone but priests worshipping either in the Cordoba or Toledo Cathedrals. The fact is that priest-ridden Spain long ceased to be Catholic Spain.

The Pope is said to be almost prostrated because of worry over Spain. It seems to this humble and occasional Church-goer that a decade or more ago, when His Holiness was younger and stronger, he might have made an effort to infuse some true Christian humility into what has been for centuries an arrogant oligarchy of clergymen.

Robert Neville.

THE RELATION OF SOCIALISM TO COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

By P. Ramamurti.

The talented editor of the 'Indian Express' entertained the readers of the 'New Age' a few months ago by his exposition of Dialectical Materialism and the application thereof to the Indian struggle. The readers of the 'New Age' are again given an idea of his socialistic philosophy through his article "Socialism and cottage Industries", appearing in the August issue of the same journal.

The present article surpasses the previous one in its lack of understanding of the Dialectics of the Proletarian struggle for seizure of power in order to utilise the same for the elimination of all exploiting tendencies in society ultimately leading to a classless society. A socialist understands the conflict between the forces of production and the social relations between men under Captialism. He understands that Capitalism produces the seeds of its own destruction in that large-scale industry gives rise to a proletarian class, which day by day realizes the antogonism of its own interest with that of the class of owners of the means of production and also a large reserve army of unemployed—the 'Lumpen' Proletariat. He also understands that this growing antagonism accentuates the struggle between these two classes leading ultimately to the overthrow of the rule of the Burgeoisie by the working class in alliance with the 'Lumpen' Proletariat and the peasantry. For a socialist armed with this dynamic view of the class struggle, the only criterion, by which a given programme or policy can be judged is to understand how far the adoption of such a policy or programme helps or hinders the accentuation of the struggle of the proletariat.

Hence in a Socialist country *i.e.*, in a country where the revolutionary Proletarian masses have siezed power, the only function which the Socialist state fulfils is the elimination of all the remnants of the exploiting tendencies of the previous Capitalist-cum-Feudalistic regime. And when the motive of private profit, based as it is on exploitation, is thus removed, the attitude towards cottage industries at a given moment is determined solely by the consideration, whether or not a particular attitude comes into conflict with the material forces of production at that given moment. For example, if Bee-keeping, Poultry-farming and Sheep and cow rearing can be mechanised if such mechanisation can be cheaper and more efficient than the present methods adopted in those industries, I have no doubt that even Socialist Russia will give up the present methods in favour of mechanisation even in these industries. Hence the attitue towards these or any industry, is determined solely by the available technique of production at that moment.

In a capitalist country, the socialist cannot adopt a static and humanitarian view towards these cottage industries, as Mr. Santhanam does. His only guide to action is a clear understanding of the economic law that large scale mechanised production will inevitably drive away cottage industries from the field, in spite of the preachings of the humanitarian philosophers and other 'well wishers' of those engaged in these industries. Any amount of shedding tears over the fate of the hand-loom weavers thrown out into the streets, by the Giant Power-looms will not stop the onward march of the Power-loom.

Those who make loud noises against industrialisation simply do not probe into the root causes of the march of history and attempt to side-track the mass movement into useless channels by presenting false issues, and inevitably act, albeit unconsciously, as a check on the progress of the masses.

The 'certain general principles consistent with socialism' which Mr. Santhnam formulates make curious reading. Says he, "Where large numbers are helped by a cottage industry, however crude and primitive, it may be, the socialist must oppose a *sudden deprivation of their livelihood*." Are we to understand that the socialist should welcome a gradual deprivation of their livelihood? But then, how is the socialist to oppose the 'deprivation of their livelihood, be it sudden or gradual? By simply denouncing the greedy industrialist from the Press and the Platform, by expatiating upon the beauty of the hand-made product and by persuading the large masses of consumers to boycott the goods producted by the 'SATANIC' machines? Does Mr. Santhanam seriously for a moment believe that by the adoption of such a course industrialisation can be stopped?

Again, "They should do their best to turn the energies of the capitalists to fields of activity in which they would create more work instead of replacing manual labour by machine work." And pray what are the Capitalists to do when they find that over and above their investments in those channels suggested by Mr. Santhanam, they have still a very large surplus Capital lying idle or when they find that these fields are not good and profitable enough for their investments? Perhaps they are to be told that they will be committing a serious sin if they deprive millions of human beings of their means of livelihood and the dark picture of the hell in store for these Capitalists will so much frighten them that they will abhor to tread any further the path of industrialisation!

Mr. Santhanam's confusion reaches its climax when he declares "Nationalist Government in India which sought to prevent the growth of Textile Industry and directed Indian Capital towards steel, shipping and Chemical industries would have had the support of the Socialist" By a "Nationalist Government," Mr. Santhanam can only mean a Government in which power is vested in the Capitalists and their allies. Otherwise, if it were a Government, wherein the workers have power in their hands, the question of withdrawing support from certain industries for fear of rendering many unemployed does not arise at all. If power is vested in the Burgeoisie in the Indian Nationalist Government, it passes one's understanding as to how that Government will act against the interest of the particular class, whose instrument it is, by preventing the growth of certain industries. It will simply not take into account the 'Socialists,' however anxious they may be to support it in certain of its policies and mildly criticise it in others.

Mr. Santhanam is correct when he says "the introduction of the tractor for ploughing and threshing on a large scale under the Capitalist economy will straight away lead to greater pauperisation and wide spread *agrarian riots*', Precisely so. It is this discontent and the consequent agrarian troubles and industrial strikes that Mr. Santhnam is afraid of and wants to prevent. In other words, if the Indian Burgeoisie and the landlords want to prevent the masses from declaring a general industrial strike accompanied by countrywide agrarian troubles which will inevitably result in the siezure of power and the means of production by the masses, i.e. then in their own interest, the Bourgeoisie and the Feudal landlords must be appealed to go back to primitive methods of production! And this appeal is to be made in the name of "Socialism"! I have no doubt that socialists have learnt their history better and know to act better than merely to attemptto prop up a crumbling system

SURVEY OF A SOUTH INDIAN VILLAGE

(The following is a survey of a South Indian Village conducted by Mr *N. S. Subramaniam. The report was sent to the All India Congress Committee and its Political and Economic Information Department has published it in the form of a book-let with a foreword from Dr. Z. A. Ahmad. The pamphlet is an instructive document worth studying. Ed.)*

NERUR—A SURVEY

General

Nerur is situated on the left bank of Kaveri in the Karur Taluk of Trichinopoly district. It has an area of nearly eight square miles an irrigation channel branching from Kaveri and 1718 acres of wet and 1890 acres of dry land. There are about 150 wells dug to irrigate some 300 acres of dry land, while the rest of them are rain fed. As regards the wet land, the soil is rich, the irrigation perennial and cheap and abundant supply of human labour is always available. These factors have tended to intensive cultivation and three crops of paddy, sugar-cane, plantains, turmeric, groundnut and other commercial crops are grown. The dry area is not equally rich, and the few wells dug are not sources of un-failing supply. The yield of wet lands is above the average for the district, but the same cannot be said of the dry lands as crops like tobacco, chilies and other costly crops cannot be grown on them.

The village has a population of 6200, of all communities of Hindus, some Christians and a few Muslims. This village contains the second largest Harijan population in any village of the district. The Harijans and all the other communities of Hindus except the Brahmins, the Chettiars and a few others are engaged in agriculture. The one industry existing in the village is that of mat-weaving which engages ten families. The plying of bullock carts and *jutkas* provides living for 25 families. The schoolmasters, the village officials, six village menials, the village postman and the postmaster receive their petty salaries from Government and other authorities. Right to fish in the irrigation channels is not objected to. There is no grazing ground worth the name, but some manage to keep cattle and earn a petty living therefrom. Poultry, piggery and fishing add to the resources of some. The general population manage to collect their fuel somehow, and the cattle dung is also used as fuel. Cocoanut, mango and other fruit yielding trees add to the resources of the owners.

The conspicuous features of this village are: that a major portion of the lands is owned by outsiders, and the residents are greatly indebted. Though teeming with population, the village has to employ labour from outside, for the lack of rotation of crops and planning necessitate it. The productive sources are so limited that the population remains unemployed for most of the time while they are over-worked for some time. As everywhere, wealth is so ill-distributed that the majority owns hardly anything except their own selves.

Production

A study of the production of this village is attempted in the following tables. Mutual services rendered among themselves, whether paid or not are not taken into consideration. Only the ultimate production or income is taken into consideration. Table I (*a*) gives the gross income from agriculture, I (*b*) the net income from agriculture and

I (c) the net income from other sources. Table II gives the amounts which leave and the balance that remains in the village for consumption, and the per capita income. Table III is a list of holders owning more than five acres of wet land together with their debts. Another estimate of per capita income is arrived at after deducting these holders, and their incomes. Some conclusions which follow from this study—are given at the end.

TABLE 1(a)

Gross income from agriculture

	Rs.
Wet land.	
Paddy (grown in 1318 acres) @ 50 Kalams per acre per Kalam @ Rs. 2-12-0. Hay @ Rs. 10 per acre.	1,94,305
Sugar-cane (grown in 200 acres)* of 25 podies per acre per podi @ Rs. 15.	75,000
Plantains (grown in 100 acres)† 600 bunches per acre, per bunch @ 0-5-4.	20,000
Other crops. Groundnut, turmeric. etc., (grown in 100 acres) at an average income of Rs. 150 per acre.	15,000
Dry land.	
Well-irrigated 300 acres average income per acre Rs. 80.	24,000
Rain-fed 1590 acres average income per acre Rs. 7.	11,130
Cocoanut, mango and other fruit bearing trees.	5,000
Total,	3,44,435

*The market price for more than a year has stood at Rs, 13 per podi. If however the price is anything below Rs. 14 the grower can get nothing for the land.

†. The price of plantains is always fluctuating. If the price is below 0-5-4 (which often happens) the grower will get nothing for the land.

Sugar-cane and plantains are grown in expectation of better prices and many have lost considerably by growing them. However these crops require greater human labour than paddy and provide employment for labour.

TABLE 1(b)

Cash and kind payments to outsiders, and net income from agriculture, (kind reduced to cash at current rates)

		Rs.
Wet land.		
Paddy.	Manures and labour* of outsiders. @ Rs. 32 per acre. 1318 acres.	42,176
	Seed used 2000 kalams. @ 2-12.	5,500
Sugar-cane. 20 acres.	Manures and cash payment for growing and crushing cane @ Rs. 210 per acre.	42,000
	Seed sets, @ Rs. 40 per acre.	8,000
Plantains 100 acres.	Manures, labour and bamboos at 110 Rs. per acre.	11,000
Other commercial crops. 100 acres.		
	Manures, labour etc. at Rs. 60 per acre.	9,000
Dry land.		
Well-irrigated land 300 acres.		
	Manures, labour etc. @ 30 Rs. per acre.	9,000
Rainfed.	1590 acres. Manures, labour etc. @ Re. 1 per acre.	1,590
Seed for well-irrigated and rain-fed land.		3,000
Fruit-bearing trees. Labour and manures, etc.		1,000
		1,32,266

Gross income from agriculture	3,44,435-0-0
Expenses of cultivation.†	1,32,266-0-0
Net income‡ from agriculture. 2,12,169-0-0	2,12,169-0-0

* Labour by the villagers is not

charged for. Labour charges mentioned here are those which are paid to outsiders and the amounts leave the village.

1. Expenses include only the items for which payments out of the village are made. The cattle and pig manure produced locally as well as local labour are not included under this head.

2. Net income alone which remains in the village is given; it includes the product of land as well as the labour of the residents of the village.

TABLE 1(c)

Net income from non-agricultural sources.

	Rs.
Salaries of Government and Dist. Board servants Rs. 500 per month ...	6,000
Mat-weaving. 10 families @ Rs. 100 per year ...	1,000
Bullock carts and *jutkas** ...	3,000
Income of temples from outside ...	1,000
Pensions etc. ...	1,000
Monetary help from relatives etc. ...	1,200
Petty trade in hay, grass, plantain leaves, and in Kolli Malai produce ...	1.200
Sale of cattle and cattla produce† ...	2,400
Interest on capital lent out, and agri. and non-agri. income from outside ...	6,600
Wages earned elsewhere by labourers and artizans.‡ ...	1,200
Tourists and pilgrims ...	200
	24,200

The total net income from agricultural and non-agricultural sources is Rs. 2,36,369.

Of the gross agricultural production more than one third leaves the village by way of charges for manure and labour from outside. Chemical manures have a fair share of this amount. A well planned crop rotation might minimise the need for out-side labour and create greater employment for the village.

* The income earned from outsiders is alone taken into account.

† Except the Brahmins and a few caste communities the rest sell away milk and milk products for which there is a ready market at Karur a town six miles off.

‡ Before this trade slump some thousands of rupees were being received into the village from Ceylon and Malaya states every year. But for the last five years no remittance worth the name has been received.

TABLE II

The out-goings and the balance available for consumption

		Rs.
Land Revenue, irrigation and allied cesses ...		30,000
Toddy and Arrack shop rentals (to Government) ...		6,000
Toddy and Arrack shop tree taxes, rent to tree owners tappers and others ...		6,000
The earnings of the Post-Office ...		500
Bullock carts and *Jutkas* paid to outsiders ...		2,000
Bullock carts and Jutkas owners, expenditure on fodder and repairs outside ...		1,000
Purchase of Cattle etc, ...		1,000
Interest charges *@ 8 per cent per annum for 5 lakhs borrowed from outside ...		40,000
Rent to owners of land residing outside village		
Wet land 900 acres at Rs. 90 per acre	81,000	
Well-irrigated 100 acres at Rs. 20	2,000	
Rain-fed 300 acres at Rs. 2	600	
	83,600	
Less land revenue and other dues already		

deducted	13,250	
Land rent paid to outside owners exclusive of the taxes	70,350	70,350
Total payments from the village	...	1,56,850
Total net agricultural and non agri—income of the village	2,36369	
Total out-goings	1,56,850	
Balance remaining in the Village	79,519	79,519
Per capita income.	Rs, 12·8	

(Village population 6200.)

* The debt of 5 lakhs is for the residents of Nerur and not for non-resident holders. Their debts are not included under this head. The rate of 8 per cent is the lowest, but interest has been calculated at such a low rate for all the debts both secured and unsecured.

The effects.

Of the net total income more than two thirds goes out of the village by way of land revenue and excise taxes, interest charge and rents to non-resident owners. The increasing costs of litigation, money squandered by some on vices and the natural toll of civilisation take away a fair portion of what remains for the consumption of the village. The per capita income in such a favourable area is so poor, that the majoritry of the population are leading but sub-human lives. Theoretic perfection and human ingenuity manage to multiply this figure any number of times, but the pitiable poverty-stricken condition of the people which greets the eyes will convince any one that the per capita income arrived at is a correct one. The per capita tax comes to Rs. 6, and on the basis of the income of the individual it is 50 per cent. The poor man who gets only 12 rupees for himself manages to pay to government six rupees as taxes in addition to the numerous indirect taxes that he pays for his salt, his kerosene, and his matches. Roads, not very well maintained, a few schools which educate about one sixth of the children of school-going age, and the peace and security are what they get from the Government. Though the population is 6200 even a rural hospital is denied to them. Fatal maternities, cholera, small-pox and other diseases take their annual toll unchecked. If the people know how to live on Rs. 12. 8 (as they do now), how well will they know to live if only what they pay to Government is not taken away but allowed to be spent by them. It might be suggested that they get many things free or cheap, and their income when scientifically worked out might be many times more than Rs. 12·8. Air, sunlight, abundance water, and free space to move about they have got, but these by themselves cannot add to human happiness. This big village with so much area under cultivation has no recognised grazing grounds, and that shuts out all chances of cattle-rearing and making a small addition to their little incomes.

TABLE III

Resident owners, owning more than five acres of wet land, together with their debts.

Names	Area owned	Other property	Debts Rs.
V 1	24	10,000	
V 2	20		20,000
V 3	23		10,000
A	15	10,000	..
P 1	20		20,000
P 2	12		10,000
P m	15		10,000
S	15		
R	[illegible]		7,000
R 2	8		2,000
M	5	5,000	
S	10		
K	10		
P a	7		3,000

K	7	3,000
I	7	3,000
N	12	
N 1	5	
S p	7	5,000
S k	7	5,000
SS	6	5,000
St	5	3'000
Total	250	106,000

1 Full names are not given but only initials and other clues.

Concluding Remarks.

Of the seemingly rich, only a few are able to keep their heads above water. The others are sinking and it is a question of time when they will take leave of their holdings. There have been such falls even before this depression period and since its commencement many have lost all hopes of getting out of the clutches of their creditors. Within the memory of the writer more than 800 acres have thus changed hands, and this leads to the natural conclusion that all the lands change hands in the course of two generations.

The twenty-two owners owning more than five acres of wet land own among themselves more than a quarter of the wet land owned by the residents. An attempt to arrive at a per capita income after deducting these twenty-two owners and their incomes will clearly reveal the effects of mal-distribution and the very low income of the others owning land and otherwise. The per capita income arrived at thus is Rs. 8-8. This low figure will speak for itself, and need not be further explained.

A rich soil, perennial irrigation and intensive cultivation as are obtaining in this village with an over average yield is not sufficient to maintain its own population. If the net income of Rs. 212,169-0-0 from agriculture were to be divided equally among all the villagers they might get more than three times what they get at present. But this is too big an If. Even granting it to happen, it may not be sufficient to assure them an income with which they can lead a civilised life. Intensive agriculture gives greater employment, but not sufficient labour for all the population throughout the year. A majority of employable presons are forced to idle away their time for a major portion of the year. This can be avoided only by diverting many of them to other occupations which will employ them throughout the year or during their off seasons. Well worked out plans of cropping and crop rotation will also minimise the need for rush at certain seasons, and the slack at other periods. Wet cultivation is not so much dependent upon monsoons as dry cultivation and this gives scope for planning and regulation. Cottage industries seem to be really attractive, but their future is not at all bright. Emigration certainly can really help to divert many of these under-employed to more permanent employments and greater incomes. Industries allied to agriculture which can be worked on a small scale should be tried to provide employment for the people. Sugar milling, utilising and preserving plantain products, will give greater employment and income to the people of the village. The allied calling of cattle rearing should certainly be encouraged by providing grazing grounds and by giving other facilities. The demand for cattle-produce is growing and the manurial needs of the village might be satisfied to a greater extent than at present. These factors may reduce the dependence of all on land and give them better incomes.

The pity of the village is that a major portion of its land is being owned by outsiders and they take out the produce or its value to be spent out of the village. They are not agriculturists, but only investors who have come by possession of lands, as it is the safest form of investment and as it adds to one's social status. They care only for their rents, and the competition which exists fetches more than a reasonable

rent. They do not take interest in the cultivation of land. As they own more than half the area under cultivation and as they are profiteers pure and simple, no great improvements in agriculture can be effected in the village. The Tamil poet Thiruvalluvar says that the owner should daily visit his land lest it gets offended at this neglect just like a wife, but these absentee landlords are supremely indifferent to any kind of improvement. As a result, the lands are getting depleted, the people impoverished and the ultimate result is bound to be ruinous for all concerned.

Indebtedness is the other problem which stares one in the face. A seemingly rich area is heavily indebted, and all the produce of nature and human labour is being perpetually paid out by way of interest charges. The people are not all wise and there is some waste, which must be condemned. But the debts have accumulated not solely through waste but by sheer want. Perhaps less favoured areas might not get so much credit, but the ready credit which it commands is the curse of the village. Credit should be sufficiently cheap and should be available for only productive expenditure, but it is not so. The propertied man may get money cheap but he wastes it or starts speculating ; the poor man has to pay an exorbitant price for the small capital which he needs for his production and his subsistance. The land-owners slowly get indebted, they mortage and sell their lands, and are replaced by a set of new owners ; in their turn these new owners follow the footsteps of the previous owners and take leave of their land later on. This is what is going on as regards the land owners. The landless get indebted, leave the village and are replaced by a new set, or the old set returns after wandering elsewhere.

This cycle goes on for ever, but in the meanwhile a few try to rescue themselves from the clutches of the creditors. In their eagerness they forget their physical capacities and deplete their soil and this leads to the weakening of the soil and of the people with grave consequences for the future. Facilities of credit are needed, but the real problem is to find out means from increasing the resources of the people.

It has been noted that the people pay as taxes about 50 per cent of what they retain for their consumption. On the face of it, it is a heavy burden and much more so for a people with such a low per capita income. Land and human labour both produce a net income of Rs. 2,12,169-0-0 for the village, but the government take Rs. 30,000 for land and water which they supply. In normal conditions the land may not yield twice of what the Government realises from the village. The benefits derived from the Government have been already mentioned. Peace and security might be made much of, but they are of no consequence to a vast majority of the people who have not much to secure to themselves except their bodies and lives. The miserable existence which they lead, has not created in them any very strong attachment for life, and many might be quite willing to end this existence if allowed to do so. Peaceful conditions only perpetuate their misery and they do not want any security whatsoever.

Of the excise taxes much more has to be said. It is an income obtained only from the very poor who are wage-earners and the landless. These people earn a pittance but the attraction of the toddy or the *arrack* is too great for them to resist and they spend their little earnings on their drink. With empty hands they return home and starve themselves and their families. The minor breaches of peace which occur in the village are those which are the reactions of drink. The Government whose primary duty is to assure peace is again responsible for the origin of all the minor troubles in the village by its excise policy. The propertied people take to other vices and waste,

but the poor drink and lose what they get and get more and more deteriorated.

Table three gives a list of owners owning more than five acres of wet land. Some twenty-two owners own more than 250 acres. There are others holding land below five acres, and the number of un-economic holdings is very large. Even then a vast number, more than eighty per cent of the population, own nothing and they have to depend on their or their relatives' labour. The question of mal-distribution of wealth is as great here as anywhere else. While a few favoured enjoy their lives the rest are so miserable that life is irksome to them. Property is greatly valued and human life and human labour are looked down upon and neglected. The per capita income is an average and proceeding on its basis is but like wading a river on the basis of its average depth. This problem is a vast one and its solution like some other problem is has to be on a national scale. Normal human labour should earn all the human needs, and the care for the morrow should not be the oppressing burden as it is now. Greater production under the existing circumstances may not greatly relieve the condition of the poor, and an earnest attempt to arrive at a fairer distribution of the blessings of nature and the product of human labour should be made.

A most favoured area, with a normally energetic people does not present us with a happy view as one should expect it to do. The reasons for it are not anything peculiar, and prevail with greater intensity in less favoured areas. Nature is not stinting, but man is. If only he can view things straight in the face and set about earnestly re-arranging them to assure happiness for all, he can do it. Some day he will. And then we will witness the birth of a new Nerur, as of a new India, worthy of its destiny and secure in the glory of its future.

THE BRITON IN INDIA

By Prof T. J. George

A book of absorbing interest. It is the first systematic attempt that has been made by any writer Indian or English on the problem of racial relations.

Published by

The Associated Printers.

165, Mount Road, Madras.

Send for a copy now.

B2

THE TURN OF THE TIDE IN POLAND

***By* W. Walter Crotch.**

It is a crime arbitrarily to divide the States of Europe into 2 opposing Camps, Fascist and Non-Fascist. It would be a blunder to ignore the tendency of European politics to cristalize along these lines, but the division is not definite. Several States are un-committed, a prey to conflicting currents of thought and action. In some, as in Spain, the conflict has culminated in war; in others, such as Poland, disaster may yet be averted.

Poland is a state with a glorious past which was revived more as a result of the political calculations of other powers than through any heroic efforts of its own-and has assumed a not unimportant place among living Nations. Reborn, as the result, ostensibly to free demacracy from the shackles of despotism, Poland has become in outward resemblancè a democratic republic,but one destined from the first to live under arms, a condition of things not easily reconcilable, with deomcracy.

Poland is not a self-supporting economic unit and, during the first few years of its renewed existance, had to lean upon Paris and London. When the unwise ardour of her military chiefs committed, Poland, to an ill-timed war with Soviet Russia, French technical skill, and military counsel alone saved the country from being wrecked. It was an unpropitious but inelectable beginning. Without French Guns a French General Staff and British money, Poland would not have survived the Russian war, which she had herself so irresponsibly provoked. This same lightheartedness was a leading feature of Polish Policy. In those early days of her renaissance, witness events at Nilna, wanton strife with German border-settlers, and unintelligent handling, of the minorities problem. But the severest handicap of the young Republic was the incapacity of her rulers to grasp the essentials of sound economics or to subordinate petty party differences and personal bickerings to the National well-being.

Poland was lifted from the slough of anarchy by the strong hand of Pilsudsky, who rode rough-shod over every principle supposedly, dear to good democrats. He banished from public life every man whose brains or popularity were likely to rival his own. His treatment of political opponents was more than ruthless; but he kept Poland together. He forced her upon the council of the League; he strengthened her prestige, and he did so without endangering the peace of Europe. He founded no successor. The short, allegedly liberal, regime of M. Marian Koscialkowsky proved futile. Libaralism cannot long exist in an atmosphere of an autocrtic state.

The reins were seized by the colonels 'Party' a camarilla of second-rate General Officers with whom Pilsudsky had surrounded himself. They tried and are still trying to carry on the Pilsudsky tradition without Pilsudsky. The head of this Government, General Slavoi-Skladkowsky, had earned his reputation as a ruthless "Pacificator" of the south eastern Provinces. The Minister of Foreign affairs, Col. Joseph Beck, was at one time polish Military Attache in Paris. During his term of Office the French Deurieme Bureae became so concerned at his clous

relations with the German intelligence department that the Warsaw Government was asked to recall him. The outstanding qualities which have made the names of these men are not such as to commend themselves to Polish People. As to the other members, even their names are almost unknown. Nominally enthroned over the entire fabric of the State, there sits M. Ignaz Moscicky as President, who for nine years was content to be in that position a mere cypher in the shadow of Pilsudsky. When he assumed office, General Slavoi-Skladkousky thought it necessary to announce officially that he did so at the order of the President and General Rydz-Smigly, the Inspector General of the Army. It was felt that since the authority of the President was a minus quantity, some sort of effective authority must be invoked. By this time the Colonel's Party must regret that it should have thus exalted General Rydz-Smygly, for he is certainly not subservient to them. That is the outstanding new fact in the Polish situation. But we are anticipating.

Elections were last held in Poland in Sept. 1935. They were "Elections" after the pattern not uncommon in authoritarian states. The Government party won, hands down; it would have won hands down even, had not a single Elector in all Poland cast a vote in its favour. But this particular Government party was in some respects unique; it was, avowedly, not a party at all but officially described itself as the non-party bloc. It had no sooner justified its existence on paper by winning the elections than it was dissolved, on the ground that all political organizations are dangerous. Since, on that principle no political party must be tolerated, they were bound to set a bright and shining example by abolishing their own party, or rather 'non-party bloc'. The resultant absence of all form of political organizations entailed the disappearance of any sort of liason, between the people and the Government. The Masses were left with but two alternatives, either to become absolutely indifferent to politics or to rush in their thousands to join the secret, illegal political organizations.

To complete the political indifference, there were many barriers. A nation may conceivably become politically indifferent when agriculture is healthy and industrial production intensive, when taxation is low, when there is no unemployment, and finally when there is no hostility between the foreign Policy of the Government and the deeply rooted National-sentiments of the people. But in Poland precisely the opposite is the case. The economic crisis shows no sign of abating. The peasantry live today in conditions of misery, the populace in the towns is on the verge of starvation. Industry hampered by the economic crisis, is beset by acute differences between masters and men, which find expression in perpetual strikes and acts of violence. Taxation is so high that the middle classes are crushed and farmers are driven almost to despair. Unemployment is heavy and social legislation a mockery. Finally Col. Joseph Beck has apparently sought to co-operate with Germany, a country which the overwhelming majority of the Polish people fear and distrust. Little wonder if, on the morrow of the 7th World Congress of Militant International Communism, which was held in Moscow last year, one of the shrewdest of its participants stated his belief that the next revolution would be either in Poland or in Spain! That Spain and not Poland has turned out to be the revolutionary battle-field is due, in some measure at least, to the fact that, whereas in Spain the leaders of the Right did little to obviate and much to sharpen the conflict, in Poland the man from whose authority the present Cabinet claims its mandate, General Rydz-Smgly has sought to steer the ship of state into new and quieter waters.

There were when he first appeared in

the forefront of the political stage—and there are still today three great camps in Poland. There is what may be termed the "National Front" which comprises the majority of the army officers and Civil servants; considerable portions of the well to do middle classes the ultra-patriotic and often Anti-semite part of Polish Youth; most of the big land-owners and some of the industrialists. It is a loose association of widely divergent forces and interests conservative if not reactionary in tendency. Then there is what is known as the "Red Front" comprising the social democrats and the illegal but active communists. To talk of a Front in this case is a misnomer, for there is no unity between the two factions; but their aims are practically identical, and they appear to be separated more by personal differences than by conflicts in ideology. This camp embraces practically the whole of the working classes, a large section of the intellectuals and a considerable part of urban youth. It is increasing in both numbers and in driving power. By a curious combination of circumstances, a recent local election in Zgierz was exempt from the usual official pressure, notwithstanding the fact that a 'Government list' of candidates was nominated. But that list only carried 5 successes, out of 27 vacancies. The National party lost 5 seats; the socialists obtained 12; or a net gain of 7. This result is interesting, as the proverbial "straw" indicator. But it does not take into account the third of the great Polish political camps that of the Peasant Populist Party. Poland being predominantly an agrarian country, the importance of the agricultural masses can hardly be over estimated. Should they swing to the National Front, then this amorphous conglomerate of private interests and patriotic aggressiveness will certainly win the day. If they be absorbed in the Red Front, that medley of discontent, revolutionary sentiment and dilettante culture then it is almost certain that the hour of the predicted Polish Revolution will have struck. To a man like General Rydz-Smigly (who does not want Poland to be communist, but, on the other hand, does not want her to become the third or fourth fiddle in the Fascist Orchestral) this situation was, and is fraught with danger. He is a soldier responsible, solely for the efficiency of the army; he could have stood aside and allowed political events to take their course. Instead of which, he decided to act, in dramatic fashion. With the instinct of the strategist he concentrated upon the Peasant Populist Party.

The peasants have organised at the village of Nowosienlce in little Poland a mass demonstration for the unveiling of a monument of Michael Pyrz, a local farmer who 300 years ago, led the peasantry victoriously against a Tartar invasion. From all parts of Poland, the Peasants streamed to Nowosienlce. The government had taken extensive precautions and concentrated a strong armed force to control this concourse of nearly 150 thousand men. General Ryz-Smigly appeared upon the scene. He gave the order to withdraw the armed force which the Government had sent down, and he himself took the review of the endless marching columns. For 7 hours as they marched past they shouted "Long Live the Army and its leader; Give us back our witas! "We demand free elections!" "Long live democracy". The General stood at the salute all the time and he gave a cordial reception to formulate the peasants demands. The latter were three in number, restoration of the republican constitution, free elections on the basis of universal suffrage and the secret ballot and a general amnesty for political prisoners and offenders.

This dramatic incident created a deep sensation throughout Poland, but that was but the beginning of the impulse which had brought the soldier to realise the Path which must be taken if the masses were to be placated. General Rydz-Smigly invited to

Poland the chief of the French General staff, General Gamelin. He organized for him an official and popular reception of such warmth that it amounted to a disavowal of the foreign policy of Colonel Beck. He informed his French colleague that he feared Germany. It was about to have recourse to startling military measures that would result either in war at an early date, or in such an increase in the pace of the race for armaments as would render the situation untenable. He discussed with General Gamelin questions of Staff interest, based upon the assumption that the Franco-Polish alliance was a living reality, and in such a way as to convince General Gamelin that so long as he remains where he is, Poland may be reckoned in the "Peace Front". The German Ambassador reminded Colonel Beck of his treaty obligations with Germany, the Polish under secretary for foreign affairs assured the Wilhemstrasse that Colonel Beck's policy was unchanged. The Inspector General of the Polish army forthwith announced his intention of repaying General Gamelin's call by going to France himself. This he did and during the first week in September had interviews with the French Prime Minister, the Minister for war and others.

Conversations that ensued as a result of these courteous visits carried the process one step further. One of those who was privileged to take part in these conferences; a man who is in Rydz-Smigly's confidence summed up the position as follows.

Poland cannot afford to continue an equivocal policy, otherwise she will be crushed between the upper and lower Grindstones. We want to preserve a good understanding with Germany but we are not willing, as its price to abandon our friendship and alliance with France. No country trembling upon the brink of social revolution can play an efficient part. We must set our house in order. That can only be done through the people and with the people. That is why Rydz-Smigly went to Nonesielce and that is why he went to France.

If that declaration means anything, it certainly implies that events are moving in Poland towards a return to free institutions. The tide seems to have turn^d in Poland. Will General Rydz-Smigly the soldier-statesman-artist, malicious caricaturist, practical joker and winter sports enthusiast, with democratic leanings direct it to a safe haven? If so, he will have earned the gratitude of his country.

FOR EVERYTHING ELECTRICAL

Apply to:

Telephone:—2228.

C. SHUNMUGAM & CO.,

Electrical Engineers and Contractors,

61, CHINA BAZAAR, MADRAS.

Direct Importers of:—Hard drawn Bare Copper Wire.

All Electrical Accessories Both British and German, Etc.

JAWAHARLAL IN MADRAS.

By An Observer

What is the dominant impression one gets from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's recent visit to Madras and his tour of South India? Not his unfounded faith in Socialism, of which, of course, he left us in no doubt? Not his passion for freedom, though that was evident in every word he spoke? Nor his tremendous sincerity, which was transparent? Then what else was it? I am inclined to think that the dominant impression is of Mr. Nehru's utter unconventionality, an air of complete unformality about his entire behaviour. There is in him little of the passive "leader" who accepts what is provided and goes about his business with little concern about whatever happens around him. No. He cannot, he is not blind to what goes on round him. He is a "leader" and he should lead always. He hates to be led. When the volunteers make a big fuss about making arrangements for his passage, he quietly assures them that he can make his own way.

There is one remarkable incident which happened in the City to which the papers have not given the prominence it deserves. It gives an insight into Mr. Nehru's character. It occured on the day Mr. Nehru first arrived in the City, the 5th instant). While the Presidential procession was passing through the Chintadripet level crossing, the police were not allowing the crowd to go on but diverting it from the procession route. It appears some police constables were even using lathis on the crowds. On seeing this, Jawharlal jumped down from his Motor car and is said to have told a sergeant there that if he could not control the peaceful crowds properly he might give up the job to him, he would do it better; and warned him not to employ force against a peaceful crowd. That is typical of him. Alluding to this incident, though not directly, in a speech the next morning, Jawharlal said he could put up with tyranny but could not tolerate incompetence. But his criticism of the bureauracy apart, the real significance of the incident lies in the unconventional way he does things. He is alive every movement and when he sees something wrong he attacks it in a straight-forward way, directly, immediately. So much so occasionally his criticisms seem harsh and cruel and just think of the ruthless way he criticised the youths who invaded Mr Satyamurthy's house asking for a message from Jawharlal and shouting slogans of Socialism etc. What they got was a round of pitiless abuses, an attack on their empty shouting of slogans and senseless demand for "message." A student who begged for Jawharlal's autograph was roundly told that he did not want India to be a nation of beggars.

Now, it is true that these attacks, as merciless as they were unexpected, have been much misunderstood. "The Madras Mail" indeed, has obligingly and graciously intrepreted these incidents as indicating a foretaste of Jawharlal's "Hitlerism" It may be convenient for the anti-socialist press to describe Jawharlal as a Hitler and an aristocrat to damn him and his socialism. But can the socialists treat it in the same way? They should not. It is a pity that in India we generally are intolerant of criticism. (That is why we

have developed religious tolerance into a fine art. We tolerate each other's falsehoods constantly. In fact, we are not interested in truth.) We cannot grant that there can be what is called "comradely criticism". We hasten to conclude that every criticism, if somewhat sharply made, is only a veiled insult, to our intelligence and power of reasoning. If we admire a person we expect him to do what we wish. We believe we have obliged one by admiring him. And so we expect him to do at least some minor things in return for our admiration. (That at least seems to me to be the psychology of the gentleman who asked for Jawharlal's autograph and when he did not get it made a complaint about it and encouraged the "Mail" to write some-rabid nonsense about Hitlerism,) Jawharlal is anything but a Hitler. otherwise, why are the Indian Bourgeoisie so mortally afraid of Him?

It is, at the same time, interesting to examine the origin of this Hitlerism stunt. How did "The Madras Mail" dare attack the Congress President as a Hitler? The reason, I believe, is that Jawharlal has been rather severe with all those shoddy—thinking and unserious people who meet him. He has been unsparing with them, where other leaders had been indignant. Where Gandhi or Rajendra Prasad would have been silent, he comes out with an outburst. Secondly, he has been very insistent about discipline in the Congress. Obviously, "The Madras Mail" and others who wish to see a loose undisciplined, faction-driven Congress for their own ends, would sing poems to individual liberty and condemn every attempt at making the Congress a strong, disciplined organisation capable of giving effective resistance to British Imperialism as an attack on the sacred right of the individual to persist in error and to hold his own opinions. That way lies the disintegration of the Congress and the frittering-away of national energies. An organisation fighting for freedom against a powerful and well-organised bureaucracy needs all the discipline it can command. Is the Congress to-day a very disciplined organisation? We think not. In fact the structure is very loose. Membership, for instance, carries with it very little obligations. We should like to see that the membership of the Congress carries with it some definite obligation to do national work regularly, not spasmodically and according to the whim and caprice of the member. Only then will Congress membership become a matter of pride and a really significant thing about a person. At present it is at best only an indication of one's nationalism, and it is a poor guide at that. So that, real lovers of Indian freedom would like to see more rather thanless of discipline. Not the mechanical discipline, which leads to an increase in strength. It is therefore, obvious, that when Jawaharlal frequently condemns lack of organisation and discipline among Congressmen and condemns slogan mongering, it is out of a genuine desire to strengthen the forces of freedom. Whoever chafes at or mistakes such rebuke has misunderstood the character of the Indian national struggle and his role in it.

But returning to this unconventionality, is this so striking, after all, it may be asked? It is. Take for example his address to the women's gathering in Madras. The whole address was an essay in anti-conventionalism. He attacked many a pet idea, of the women's movement without the slightest hesitation. He told them that the mechanical and usual veneration for the heroines (Sita. Savitri, etc.) of a few millennium ago was not enough; that to confine themselves to achieving equality with men was a narrow and futile policy; that even fighting for freedom was not enough. They should seek to determine even the content and character of that freedom; whether it should not be social and economic freedom also in addition to political Independence. It was altogether a very stimulating ad-

dress. It should have given a good shake to many of the women assembled; for it was quite out of the ordinary sort. There were no platitudes; there was no self complacency. In fact Jawaharlal complained that women had not come in larger numbers; nor had they clearly understood the objectives of the movement. He gave them no comfort because he was not content to make a conventional speech, to admire our women's heroism in the past and the present, to appeal to them to play their role in the national movement "and to resume my seat with these few words." 'There was nothing of the kind.'

It may all be good to our sense of vanity. We are too proud to listen to criticism. But I do not see how the Indian political movement could even become a force to reckon with if we had not ceaseless self criticism. As one who is eager to see that the Congress should grow into a disciplined militant organisation, I welcome Jawarlal's unconventional and fearless attempts to check indiscipline and loose slogan mongering, which threatens to engulf the National movement.

When we all shout aloud we may be pretty sure that we don't mean business.

M211,N34ND
N36.3.5
197947
600 008

Every Insurance Agent
KNOWS
The **BHARAT** offers the best
IN
Attractive Policy Conditions
AND
Liberal Agency Terms.
Every Policy-Holder
Knows
The **BHARAT** provides the best
IN
SECURITY & PROTECTION.
Total Assets Exceeds Rs. 2 Crores. Life Fund exceeds Rs. 1,72,00,000
Total Claims paid Rs. 1,32,00,000.
BONUS:
Whole Life Rs. 22-8. **Endowment Rs. 17-8.**
Please Address for further particulars and Agency Terms to:
The Bharat Insurance Company, Ltd, (Lahore).
Bharat Buildings, Mount Road, Madras.

NOTES AND COMMEMTS

Jawaharlal Nehru's Visit to Madras.

Comrade Jawaharlal Nehru's recent tour in Tamil Nadu was at the most opportune moment to consolidate the strength of the Congress in this Province. Com. Nehru stayed in the City for four days and toured round the Province for another twelve days. During his visit, he made many speeches, met many groups of people and frankly and unostentatiously mingled with the populace. His message of freedom and his sincere exhortation to the people to fight for their political and social rights and his out-spoken and frank criticism of reactionaries and allies of British imperialism have won for him high esteem and admiration from the public. During his tour, he kept up almost all the engagements without reserve, he was working on an average 16 to 18 hours a day and was very particular in pleasing all those who wanted to pay homage to the Congress and to him. Though Com. Nehru could have been more outspoken about his views on Socialism, he was labouring under a peculiar disadvantage of being the President of the National Congress, which necessitated him to speak with caution and reserve. We are sure that Com. Nehru would have done more justice to the cause of socialism, had he been unfettered from the trammels of Office. Com. Nehru's tour has enlivend the people, infused fresh hope and courage in them and has rendered distinct service to the progressive cause. At a meeting held under the auspices of the Madras Congress Socialist Party, Com. Nehru was at his best, and dilated upon the necessity of spreading the socialist idea with a view to the achievement of socialism, in which alone lies the salvation of humanity. It was in that gathering that Com. Nehru was able to exhort the people to have a correct perspective of the Indian struggle, which must ultimately secure economic freedom for the masses. We congratulate Com. Nehru for the wonderful way, he was able to bear the strain of his tour, and for having infused fresh spirit in the minds of the youths of Madras Presidency.

The City Municipal Elections

We congratulate the voters of Madras for their splendid response to the Congress by returning as many as 27 candidates to the Corporation under the Congress ticket. There are two or three other Congressmen elected to the Corporation though they were not adopted by the *Adhoc Committee* as official candidates. While commenting upon the selection of the candidates by the *Adhoe Committee*, we said, that the *Adhoc Committee* was quite impervious to the demands of the public in the matter of chosing candidates, and if the Congress has triumphed, it is not due to any wise or careful choice made by the *Adhoc Committee*, but because the Congress as a potential institution commands the allegiance and support of the general voters and the public. It would be rather unwise to exploit that confidence without giving due consideration to the demands of the people. We do not know whether the Congress party, as a whole, will be able to secure a substantial majority in the Corporation to carry out its programme of work for the betterment of the City, but we hope that the Congress members will be able to do better service to the citizens of Madras. The Congress Party is the only Party, represented in the Corporation as a solid disciplined group of workers pledged to serve the country. If the programme of Muni-

cipal reform adumbrated by the *Adhoc Committee* is pushed through, there is no doubt that the citizens of Madras will feel very much satisfied about the work of the Congress Party in the Corporation. We at the same time wish to warn the members of the Congress Party that they should not disintegrate or quarrel among themselves thereby repeating either Vellore or Trichy episode. Madras has a greater task ahead to perform. We hope that the confidence reposed by the citizens of Madras on the Congress nominees elected to the Corporation will be fully justified by their future conduct.

Refusal of Psas Port to KamalaDevi.

We are surprised at the strange conduct of the henchmen of Imperialism at Bombay in having refused Pass Port facilities to Sreemathi Kamala Devi for attending the International Womens' Conference at Brussels. Sri Kamala Devi is one of the leading figures in Indian politics. Her intense patriotism and her work for the country are highly praiseworthy. She is one of the leaders of the Socialist movement. She was elected to represent India at the International Women's Conference at Brussels and she intended to attend the Conference. When she applied for pass port the agents of Imperialism in Bombay took note of her activities, reviewed them and thought that she will be a potential danger to their interest if she was allowed to go and mix up with other free women of free countries. British Imperialism is so sensitisve about its own existence that it doe not wish any out-spoken criticism of its conduct in other countries. Otherwise there is no need for refusing pass port facilities to a lady like Sreemathi Kamala Devi. There was another occasion when similar facilities were denied to her by one of the Provincial Governments and Sreemathi Kamala Devi got ultimately her pass port through the intervention of some public men with the Central Government some years back. We hope that she will be able to challenge the autocratic orders of the Bombay bureaucracy and win her way to Brussels.

The choice of condidates for Election.

The various Provincial Parliamentary Boards set up by the Congress Committees are selecting Candidates for contesting elections to the reformed Legislative Assemblies and Councils to be set up during next year. Various Parliamentary Boards have invited applications from those who intend to stand as candidates. We believe that the Parliamentary Boards will be very careful in their selection of candidates and we also hope that they will not over-look the claims of those who belong to various schools of thought within the Congress itself. In order to effectively carry on the fight for freedom, ardent workers whose love for their country is demonstrated beyond doubt by their selfless activities, should be chosen to represent the Congress even though there might be apparent disagreement with certain items of the Congress Programme among them. Nothing serves better than self-criticism and propaganda for progressive thoughts. As the country is passing from stage to stage in its development and the fight for freedom is not by any means over, it is imperative that the Congress leaders should take into account the strong united minority groups within the Congress and give them their due representation. This will also obviate any friction or unpleasantness among Congressmen themselves who are determined to present a United Front to its enemies. The Congress under no circumstances should compromise or seek any rapprochment with reformist elements, whose loyalty to the Congress is doubtful or only temporary. Congress leaders must pay due recognition to the sincere efforts and activities of the minorities

who represent their views in the Congress and the Country. We believe that a healthy proceedure of this kind will be adopted by the Congress Parliamentary Board. The Madras Parliamentary Board has to make its choice and submit a list to the Central Board about the 10th of November. We hope that the Madras Parliamentary Board will recommend such names which will satisfy all schools of thought within the Congress itself.

Repression in Madras.

Finding that the Socialist Movement is taking a definite shape in this Province on account of the strenuous and able efforts made by a group of young Socialist workers, the henchmen of Imperialism, have taken to their head to suppress the movement by adopting a policy of terror and repression. Arrests and imprisonment have become a normal feature and during the course of last one or two months, three prominent workers of the Socialist wing of the Congress, are hauled up before the courts of Law. Mr. Venkateswaralu of Bazwada was proceeded against for his "seditious" utterances. Mr. Sundarayya, the Joint Secretary of the Andhra Congress Socialist Party has been arrested to answer a charge under 124 and 153 I.P.C. While refusing bail to Mr. Sundarayya, the District Magistrate used the term 'heinous' for the offence supposed to have been committed by Mr. Sundarayya. According to the District Magistrate, Political offence is heinous. We do not know whether he considers all other offences committed by people as non-heinous. The District Judge has given bail to Mr. Sundarayya, and the case is proceeding.

In the City of Madras, Com. P. Ramamoorthy has been hauled up to show cause why he should not be bound over. He is alleged to have spoken 'sedition' against the Government. As Mr. Sathymoorthy said in the Assembly, any reference to Government as bad can be brought under the section of sedition and no frank criticism is permitted. We do not know how far the Congress Party in the Assembly will be able to delete these offensive clauses from the Indian Penal Code, but there is no doubt as to the liberal use of these sections being made by the henchmen of Imperialism to crush the opponents. If this policy of repression is pursued systematically we are sure that it will only strengthen the hands of Socialists and the cause will be made more popular by their suffering. We hope the masses will unhesitatingly rally round the banner of Socialism and challenge the citadal of oppression.

The Spanish Situation

One has to congratulate Soviet Russia for its firm stand at the Meeting of the Non-intervention Committee in London regarding the supply of arms to the rebels. It is a notorious fact that the rebels were able to create and carry on the Civil war, against the established Government, only with the help of the two Fascist leaders of Europe, Mussolini and Hitler. But for the support and strength given to the rebels by these two shameless dictators of Europe the course of events in Spain would have been very much different. While the Non-intervention Committee decided to observe strict neutrality regarding the Spanish Civil War, Germany and Italy supplied clandestinely large quantities of arms and ammunitions including aeroplanes, and poisonous gas bombs to the rebels. The Government of Spain was deprived of all facilities to purchase arms for its own defence. This in fact virtually amounted to arming the rebels against the peacefully established Government. This is nothing but a deliberate treachery on the part of the various Governments against the Spanish Republican Government. Therefore the attitude adopted by Soviet Russia, though late, is highly praiseworthy. This farce of non-intervention must be put an end to, and the Spanish Government must

have full liberty to buy as much war materials as they like to quell the rebels. We are glad to note that the International Federation of Trade Union and the Labour, and Socialist International have passed a resolution calling on the British and French Governments to take steps to re-establish complete freedom of trade, in favour of the Spanish Government in consequence of the failure of the non-intervention Agreement. If Soviet Russia and France and Great Britain solidly stand by the Government established by the popular will in Spain, there is no doubt as to the subjection of the rebels in Spain. But we are very much doubtful about the conduct of the British statesmen who are reactionary conservatives having no sympathy for any Liberal or Socialist cause. The superior rebel forces armed with the most deadly weapons of warfare are attacking an established popular Government which is crippled by other Nations by withholding supplies of arms and ammunitions. This outrageous and scandalous behaviour of the other powers must be strongly condemned by every progressive public spirited man of each country and timely support must be rendered to the Spanish Government. We wholeheartedly endorse the appeal issued by the International Labour Committee and hope that inspite of severe handicaps under which the Spanish Government labours, the popular will of Spain, will assert itself against the ugly and heinous conduct of its rebels.

Italo-German Agreement

Italo-German Agreement which was published a few days ago, shows how danger is imminent in this world on account of the conduct of Mussolini and Hitler who are out for mischief. Mussolini drunk with the power of his Abyssinian conquests wants to become a supreme dominant over-Lord in Europe. Hitler having successfully got at the helm of affairs in Germany wants to fly under the wings of Mussolini so that with closer co-operation and co-ordination of these countries they can bring about a World conflagration, by which Germany can gain back all her lost territories and the dream of Roman Empire fulfilled by Mussolini. These two ambitious tyrants of Europe have set their heart against the one Socialist Government in the World, and by systematic Campaign and calumny, they want to discredit Soviet Russia, and Socialist movement. These two dictators are avowedly against Socialism and communism. They profess to up-hold European Civilization by striking at communism. They are attempting to provoke Soviet Russia into a war. But these two Fascist Dictators fail to realise the fate awaiting them if they meddle with the affairs of Soviet. History canot easily be forgotten and Hitler and Mussolini must know what happened to the allies when they created a Civil war in Soviet Russia as soon as the Russian Revolution became triumphant. The Soviet Government rules not only in name but it even rules the minds of its vast populace. Because the workers and peasants are solidly behind the Soviet Government, the Government is able to push through its schemes of work, for the betterment of the workers and the peasants. That Government can always depend upon the blind loyalty of the vast millions of the population, and as such, any attempt made against it by any outside Government will be simply crushed to atoms by the Soviet Government. Italo-German Agreement is directly aimed at the Franco-Soviet Agreement and the Nations of Europe are again dividing themselves into two opposing camps. We do not know when the conflagration will flare up, but whosoever may provoke it, he will be doing it only at his peril. The peaceful intentions of the Soviet and France are beyond reproach and as such Fascism which provokes war will surely meet with its natural death in the coming combat, which it forces upon the public.

The Chinese Situation.

Events are moving very fast in China. The Japanese authorities are concentrating their forces provoking China to a War. Japan being in possession of a well disciplined army and Navy wants to swallow China completely, and wishes to bring China under its supremacy. But the Southern Provinces of China are hotly contesting the nefarious movements of Japan and the Chinese people are willing to pay any price to put an end to Japan's aggression. But the leadership of China is hopelessly divided and Chaing Kai-shekh and some others are showing an unpardonable Pro-Japanese tendency, which has created division and trouble among Chinese ranks. It is in the interests of all, that a United Chinese Front must be presented against the Japanese Imperialist aggression. The articles we published in the provious issues of *New Age* have given some idea to our readers as to what the students and the youths of China are doing against this menace. Their demonstrations and propaganda have been very much helpful to bring home to the Chinese people the truth of the Japanese move. Very many prominent leaders of these popular movements are arrested and imprisoned, and even shot dead by the Chinese authorities on account of the intervention of Japanese Officials. The Nationalist Government of China should be able to consolidate its forces and arrest the on-slaught of Japan by maintaining absolute independence of China. We hope the Chinese leaders will sink their petty differences and up-hold the freedom of China against all attacks of various Imperialisms.

197947
சென்னை 600
M211,N34NA
N36.3.5